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ABSTRACT

This study is part of a regional study in industrial South Wales on the determinants of participation and non-participation in post-compulsory education and training, with special reference to processes of change in the patterns of these determinants over time and to variations between geographical areas. The study combines contextual analysis of secondary data about education and training providers with a regional study of several generations of families in South Wales (a door-to-door survey of 1,104 representative householders), semi-structured interviews, and taped oral histories conducted in 1996-97. This study examined learning trajectories, defined in an earlier study, by area of residence, for non-participants by area and age, for delayed learners by area and age, for transitional learners by area and age, for lifetime learners by area and age-cohort, by place of birth, and by number of area moves. Ethnicity was also examined. The study found that traditional Christians of working-class families are more likely to be lifetime learners, as are middle-class families speaking Welsh and those who are more mobile, while fundamentalist Christians are less likely to engage in learning activities. Over time, the trend has been for all types of families to engage in more learning, including ethnic groups from other countries. (Contains 23 references.) (KC)

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A Cardiff and Bristol University ESRC-funded Learning Society Project

WORKING PAPER 10

Space, mobility and the education of minority groups in Wales: The survey results

Stephen Gorard, Ralph Fevre, Gareth Rees and John Furlong

1997

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Introduction

This paper is a simple report of survey findings from this project, as described in Working Papers 1-9. These findings are used as the background for further examination of the determinants of adult education and training in light of the more detailed interviews to follow. The paper concentrates on variations in the data in terms of place, re-emphasising its importance (Rees *et al.* 1997) and developing from that an analysis in terms of geographical mobility, ethnic origin, first language and family religion. This examination helps build towards to more general conclusions concerning personal

background characteristics, and the role of place and time in the creation of a learning society. However, in many of the tables below the number of cases described is small, which is one major reason why many of the variables used do not feature in the general models of the determinants of participation as previously described (e.g. Gorard *et al.* 1997a).

Methodology

This project, funded by the ESRC as part of the Learning Society Programme, is a regional study in industrial South Wales of the determinants of participation and non-participation in post-compulsory education and training, with special reference to processes of change in the patterns of these determinants over time and to variations between geographical areas. The study combines contextual analysis of secondary data about education and training providers with a regional study of several generations of families in South Wales via survey, semi-structured interviews and taped oral histories. The background to the study is further described in Rees *et al.* (1997). The study took place in three markedly different centres in industrial South Wales during 1996 and 1997.

The data were obtained via a door-to-door survey of 1,104 householders representing a systematic stratified sample of the population of industrial South Wales in the age range 15-65. The life, work and educational histories from the householders and their families were used to define characteristic training or learning trajectories. All differences and relationships described are significant at the 5% level, using omnibus chi-squared, t-tests, one-way analysis of variance, or Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance as

appropriate (Reynolds 1977, Levine 1991, Norusis 1994). However, since several tests of significance were made using the same data, corroboration of results is required to minimise the danger of accepting spurious relationships (Stevens 1992). Corroboration comes from other results indicating the same finding, whether from the survey or later interviews, and from agreement with what is already known from sources such as census data, previous studies and the theoretical framework (see Working Papers 3-6). The methods used in this study are further explained in Gorard *et al.* (1997_b). In addition, logistic regression was used to confirm a set of eleven characteristic lifetime learning trajectories derived from the data which are used as part of the theoretical basis for the analysis below (Lehtonen and Pahkinen 1995, also see Gorard *et al.* 1997_a). For convenience, a summary of the trajectories is repeated in Table 1.

Table 1
Frequency of each trajectory

Category	Trajectory	Frequency
Disaffected learner	Non-learner	14%
	Near non-learner	19%
Delayed learner	Delayed trainee	10%
	Deferred student	7%
	Twilight learners	1%
Transitional learner	False-start trainee	9%
	False-start student	8%
Immature learner	Still at school	1%
	Still in f/t education	4%
Lifetime learner	Work-based learner	13%
	Early learner	17%

Space and mobility

One third of the respondents currently live in each of the three research sites (Gorard 1997a), and 72% of them were born in that same area. Similarly, both of their parents, where the address is known, mostly still live in the same area (80%), and even where one of the family lives elsewhere it is most likely to be in South Wales. The sample is therefore a very stable one in terms of residence (as expected from the background data), making it ideal for the examination of local area effects on participation in adult education and training. It means that the history of local structures of opportunity is particularly relevant to an understanding of the patterns emerging from the data since both place of birth and area of residence have been found to be significant predictors of participation (see for example Gorard *et al.* 1997d). The average length of residence in South Wales is 41 years, only a little less than the average age of respondents, and the average number of house moves between one of the four standard areas - the research site, elsewhere in South Wales, elsewhere in the UK, and abroad - is less than 1.

Table 2
Place of birth by area of residence

Area	Same area	South Wales	UK	Abroad
Bridgend	58	26	13	4
Blaenau	84	9	5	2
Neath/PT	73	17	10	1

However these figures, as expected, show marked differences between the research sites (Table 2). The recently expanding industrial area of Bridgend has a less settled population than either the established manufacturing region of Neath/Port Talbot or especially the depressed steel and mining valleys of Blaenau Gwent, and a similar pattern appears for other members of the family

as well (note - the information concerning the residence of children, although suggestive of interesting interpretation was deemed too unreliable for use in this analysis). Those living in Blaenau Gwent have on average moved only half as many times as the rest of the sample (0.49 times versus 0.95 times), having lived in the area for 7 or 8 years longer, and the further away from each research site the respondent and their family were born, in general the more moves they have made.

For the purposes of this project it is the relationship between regional influences and participation in post-compulsory education and training that is of special interest. Patterns of participation over the past 50 years have been summarised elsewhere in terms of learning trajectories (Gorard *et al.* 1997$_d$). In Table 3 the five categories of trajectories are broken down by area of residence, and this shows idiosyncratic patterns for each site. Although Bridgend has a high proportion of young people who remain in education and older people who have remained in full-time continuous education, fewer of these have, as yet, returned to any significant learning than those in Neath Port Talbot. In fact, Neath Port Talbot has an almost opposite picture, with a high proportion of people who return to substantive learning as adults whether they left initial schooling at the first opportunity or not. This site is therefore closer to an ideal of a learning society offering lifelong learning to all (see Gorard *et al.* 1997$_e$), with a proportionate number of non-participants but with very few inhabitants who have not experienced some form of later education or training. This may be partly due to the prevalence of the nationalised industries in this region in the past, and the ethos of training and personal development that went with it (see Gorard 1997$_f$). Bridgend, on the other hand, having been marginal to this learning society in the past, is now expanding by offering production jobs in what are predominantly non-

standard employment patterns to an increasingly feminised workforce. Blaenau Gwent, as expected, has had the poorest opportunities for formal learning, leading to the lowest proportion of lifetime learners. Although the number of non-participants is higher in Blaenau Gwent it is noticeable that these are primarily those described elsewhere (Gorard *et al.* 1997a) as near non-learners reporting very brief induction training on entering a new job, perhaps a half-day or more of working alongside someone.

Table 3
Learning trajectory by area of residence

Trajectory	Bridgend	Blaenau Gwent	Neath/Port Talbot
Non-participant	28	41	30
Delayed learner	30	32	37
Transitional	38	36	26
Lifetime learner	37	22	41
Immature learner	48	26	26

Although participation in training or education has increased for successive cohorts in this study, the change has been most dramatic for those currently living in Neath Port Talbot, an area that includes what was once "Treasure Island" (Fevre 1989). The change for Bridgend is more recent and linked, perhaps, to a growth in production due to inward investment since the 1970s.

Table 4
Trend for non-participants by area and age-cohort

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Bridgend	9	18	33	26	33
Blaenau	20	32	30	48	52
Neath PT	10	24	22	31	45

Although one would expect the proportion of delayed learners to reduce in each cohort for structural reasons, as they do in Bridgend, there is a short

increase over time in Neath Port Talbot, perhaps for the same reasons as above. Again, although one would expect the proportion of transitional learners to increase in younger cohorts, as it does in Neath Port Talbot, the scale of the change in the other two areas is impressive. To a large extent, those who would not have participated in any education or training in previous generations are being replaced by those who remain in learning immediately after initial schooling but still participate no further (except in Neath Port Talbot).

Table 5
Trend for delayed learners by area and age-cohort

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Bridgend	2	9	13	18	22
Blaenau	6	7	24	9	25
Neath PT	3	9	22	23	19

Table 6
Trend for transitional learners by area and age-cohort

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Bridgend	29	45	18	18	12
Blaenau	20	43	21	19	10
Neath PT	17	21	13	8	15

Accordingly, although the proportion of lifetime learners has grown to a relatively high level in Neath Port Talbot, and remained there, if a learning society is being created in the UK it is currently a very slow process in both Bridgend and Blaenau Gwent.

Table 7
Trend for lifetime learners by area and age-cohort

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Bridgend	12	27	36	38	33
Blaenau	23	18	25	24	13
Neath PT	37	44	42	38	21

Whichever site respondents live in now, their pattern of mobility in the past is as significant in defining their participation as the available local opportunities. For example, Table 8 shows that the further they were born from their current area the higher their chances of some form of learning experience after initial schooling.

Table 8
Learning trajectory by place of birth

Trajectory	Same area	South Wales	UK	Abroad
Non-participant	35	31	22	18
Delayed learner	17	14	22	18
Transitional learner	18	14	17	23
Lifetime learner	26	40	35	41
Immature learner	5	1	3	-

As already indicated elsewhere (Gorard *et al.* 1997$_d$), the pattern of mobility and participation is very clear but not a simple linear relationship. The low figure for the immature learners is age-related, but the others are not, for example the lifetime learners are on average slightly younger than the non-participants yet they have moved twice as often. Being prepared to, or being in a family prepared to move between these four regions is related to

participation in later education or training (the second component of determination, Gorard *et al.* 1997d), whereas it appears to have little impact on front-loaded or transitional learning behaviour. It has been observed that whereas geographic mobility increases social mobility it reduces the chances of meaningful vocational choice at initial education (Husen 1986). Interestingly, in confirmation of this pattern it is the delayed work-based learners who have moved regularly (1.07 times), perhaps being part of a national organisation, and it is the more academic lifetime learners who have a similar profile (1.09), but not the transitional learners. Mobility can be both a factor in the determination of participation and the result of it. More formal schooling can lead to a greater chance of migrating to an area away from one's immediate family, especially from rural to urban areas. However the process is not a simple one - such as a brain drain - as other factors also play a part such as social class and the motivation that comes from ambition (Husen 1986).

Table 9
Learning trajectory by number of area moves

Trajectory	Mean # of moves	Standard deviation
Non-participant	0.56	1.47
Delayed learner	1.09	3.29
Transitional learner	0.54	1.04
Lifetime learner	1.07	2.48
Immature learner	0.17	0.54

Ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" is used tentatively here, since most standard classifications used to measure this notion are in fact a confusing mixture of

religious, racial, national, and cultural characteristics, most of which are themselves unrealistic (as for example in attempting to classify one phenotype as either exclusively black or white). This study uses self-reporting to define the categories. As expected from the 1991 census data the proportion of respondents of recent ethnic minority origin was small, smaller in fact than the 1.5% figure for the whole of Wales (OPCS 1993), but close to a representative figure for the three research sites in industrial South Wales chosen for this study (see Gorard 1997c). For the purposes of this analysis all categories other than "white" are grouped together (see Table 10). Although representing only eight cases in total the non-white respondents provide an interesting alternative entry point to the complex data patterns emerging from the survey.

Table 10
Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnic group	Cases	%
White	1094	99.3
Other	8	0.7

The non-whites are better qualified than average in general, at the end of full-time education and throughout their lives (Table 11) and this has previously been found to hold in the whole of Wales (Welsh Office 1995) and for the work-based training of black women in England (DfEE 1995). It is reflected in the higher qualification of their siblings, and predicted to some extent by the qualifications of the mother (which not for the first time in this study is found to be a more accurate indicator of child's qualification than those of the father). The social class of their partner and their most qualified sibling are also elevated compared to South Wales as a whole (Table 12), while their

father's are more commonly in managerial or professional occupations than average.

Table 11
Qualifications by ethnicity

Prestige rank	White	Other
Qualifications at end of FTCE	549	825
Highest lifetime qualification	549	811
Qualification of mother	484	605
Qualification of sibling	411	589

[This table shows the mean rank for each group on an ordinal scale ranging from 0: no qualifications to 8: higher degree equivalent. The differences mentioned are significant at the 5% level using Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance, Norusis 1994].

Table 12
Social class by ethnicity

Prestige rank	White	Other
Social class partner	390	227
Social class sibling	494	314

[This table shows the mean rank for each group on an ordinal scale ranging from 1: Professional to 7: Unskilled].

Some idea of the differences in education that lead to these patterns of qualification can be seen in Table 13. Non-whites are undertaking more (and generally longer) education and training episodes of all types and spending a larger part of their lives participating in learning in some way, although this last finding could be age-related (see below). Five of the eight non-whites (63%) continued to further education after initial schooling compared to only 43% of the rest. Four (50%) had a degree or higher qualification at the end of their full-time continuous education (FTCE), compared to only 4% of the rest,

and the figures for highest lifetime qualifications are similar. It is noteworthy that formal adult education (POCE) after continuous initial education and outside work-based and vocational training is primarily undertaken by those with white backgrounds. These findings are in contrast to those of Felstead (1996) who found that ethnic minority men obtained fewer vocational qualifications than white men. The findings agree with the suggestion of NIACE (1994) that students of black and Asian origin stay on in full-time education or training longer after the age of 16. However it disagrees with the same report which suggests that these same students are less likely to obtain either a qualification or a job at the end of it, and that since some ethnic minorities are more prone to unemployment (confirmed by DfEE 1997$_a$), they are less likely to obtain vocational training. Discussion of the effect of training on getting a job will be discussed in a future paper, but it should be noted that conclusions drawn on the basis of studies in much more ethnically diverse parts of England do not appear to generalise to industrial South Wales.

Table 13
Lifetime learning by ethnicity

Mean score	White	Other
# FTCE episodes	0.39	1.3
Age of leaving FTCE	16.27	20.21
# Training episodes	0.72	1.00
# POCE episodes	0.51	0.14
# Lifetime episodes	1.44	2.43
Years in learning	2.27	6.12
% of life learning	13.26	20.82

The non-whites generally attended more varied types of secondary school than the rest, including elementary schools, technical college, and non-standard provision. One reason for this may be that four of them were born outside the UK, with parents and siblings currently living outside the UK, whereas the

school types used in the survey were based upon UK provision during the last 50 years. Three of the eight are Catholic, while three have a non-Christian local minority religion, and five live in Bridgend. All speak English at home and none speak Welsh. On average the white residents of South Wales have lived in South Wales for 41.35 years and have moved outside of the research site 0.78 times each, whereas the non-whites have lived here for 29.71 years and moved 1.57 times.

Place of birth

In total only 22 of the respondents were born outside the UK, while a clear majority were born in the boundary of the unitary authority in which they now reside (see Table 14). This finding is as expected from the migrancy figures for each of the research sites as emerging from the census 1991 (see Gorard 1997c). As expected from the stratification of the sample there are marked differences between the sites (see Table 15). The population of Bridgend is much more mobile, including most of the non-whites discussed above, while the population of Blaenau Gwent are relatively static. Those born in their current area of residence are, unsurprisingly, younger on average. In fact age generally increases slightly the further away the respondent was born.

Table 14
Place of birth of respondents

Place of birth	Cases	%
Research site	784	71.5
South Wales	191	17.4
UK	99	9.0
Elsewhere	22	2.0

Table 15
Place of birth by current residence

Birth/residence	Bridgend	Blaenau Gwent	Neath Port Talbot
Research site	58	84	73
South Wales	26	9	17
UK	13	5	10
Elsewhere	4	2	1

Table 16
Mobility by place of birth

Mean\birth	Research site	South Wales	UK	Elsewhere
# of area moves	0.47	1.39	1.76	2.09
Years in South Wales	43.46	45.77	20.04	19.04

As suggested in Gorard (1997_g) the qualifications of those still living in the area where they were born are significantly lower even than those who have simply moved within South Wales (Table 17). For example, only 45% of those who have not moved from their birth site attempted any qualifications at age 16 compared to 58% of those who have moved. Only 26% of those born in their current research site continued to further education, while 45% of the of those born elsewhere did (and this is despite the lower age of those who have not moved and the increase in qualifications over time, see Gorard 1997_g). The pattern is the same for the respondents and for their parents, siblings, partners and children. In general the more mobile respondents are better qualified and have more highly qualified family members. However, continuation after initial education cannot be simply explained by qualifications at age 16. Of those born in the UK outside South Wales 36% of students attained the crucial benchmark figure of 5 GCSEs grade A-C that allow easy entry to further education, and 36% continued to further education.

Of those born in the research site or outside the UK more students continued to FE than attained the 5 GCSE equivalent benchmark (20:27% and 27:45% respectively). But those born in South Wales were alone in reversing this ratio - 34% of students attained the grades, but only 31% continued their studies. This cannot be explained by a local prevalence of initial work-based training for 16-year olds during part of the 50 year period, since it has not affected those who have not moved within South Wales, and those who have moved within South Wales have participated in no more work-based training than expected. Is this evidence of a Welsh school-effect?

Table 17
Qualifications by birthplace

Rank\birth	Research site	South Wales	UK	Elsewhere
Qualification at age 16	525	611	606	560
Qualification end of FTCE	521	616	611	635
Lifetime qualification	520	613	602	748
Qualification of partner	336	404	398	409
Qualification of father	472	446	547	516
Qualification of sibling	395	453	465	401
Qualification of child	272	323	306	352

The more mobile respondents appear to have participated more fully in all forms of education and training, but when the number of years involved in formal learning since 16 is related to the age of the respondent then some of the difference disappear (see Table 18). Although the variable representing the percentage of adult life spent in learning does not make a perfect adjustment for age it is clear that as those living in the area of their birth tend to be

younger, so their opportunities to participate in the various forms of learning will be different (for example, they should be more likely to stay on after initial education but less likely to have undertaken work-based training in transferable skills).

Table 18
Participation by birthplace

Mean\birth	Research site	South Wales	UK	Elsewhere
# of FTCE episodes	0.36	0.45	0.45	0.68
Age at end of FTCE	16.17	16.62	16.47	17.19
# of training episodes	0.68	0.76	1.01	0.77
# of POCE episodes	0.44	0.71	0.69	0.55
# of life episodes	1.27	1.82	2.09	1.91
Years in learning	2.02	3.01	2.76	3.97
% of life learning	13.73	10.74	13.61	16.57

As with the ethnic sub-groups, these differences in participation and qualification are clearly linked family occupational and social class (see Table 19). Better qualified respondents participate more and have more prestigious occupations, and their family members also participate more, are better qualified and have more prestigious occupations (the direction of influence if any of these relationships will be discussed in a future paper). One change in the pattern which is worthy of note is the class volatility of those born outside the UK. Their mother generally has a low prestige occupation, or is unwaged, while they and their partners have a median prestige occupation. The difference in rank order between their most frequent social/occupational class and their highest lifetime class is phenomenal. The suggestion that this small

group is upwardly class mobile is reinforced by the elevated class profiles of their siblings and children, representing quite a change in one generation. However, some of this progress may be illusory, since there are indications that there is greater mismatch between the occupational class of the two parents of those born elsewhere than of those born in the UK.

Table 19
Class by birthplace

Rank\birth	Research site	South Wales	UK	Elsewhere
Highest social class	560	439	409	420
Modal social class	542	469	453	577
Occupation of partner	393	309	348	401
Social class of partner	426	338	361	375
Social class of mother	503	483	423	534
Occupation of sibling	402	366	348	330
Social class of sibling	436	377	357	320
Occupation of child	215	168	186	145

Language

Very few respondents speak a first language at home other than English - 1.7% in total (see Table 20). It could be argued that this figure is artificially low because the survey was only available in English, and it is known from the 1991 census that between 5 and 10% of respondents in the research sites can speak Welsh (the low figure for other languages is more as expected).

However there are two main reasons why the figures can be accepted as being without undue bias. Firstly, none of the interviewers reported a refusal to be interviewed based on language, while the primary response rate from each interviewer's allocated subset of the systematically stratified sample was high. Secondly the census data is not directly comparable here. Being able to speak "some Welsh" has very little to do with Welsh being the language of conversation in the home. Despite increases in the number of children able to speak some Welsh due to what is primarily second language teaching in school (Gorard 1997_h), a low figure for Welsh-speaking in industrial South Wales is one result of the rapid expansion of the coalfield (see Gorard 1997_c, and Gorard 1997_f).

Table 20
Family language of respondents

Family language	Cases	%
English	1069	98.3
Welsh	15	1.4
Other	3	0.3

Those speaking a language other than English are generally older (67% of Welsh-speakers are over 55, and fewer than 20% are under 45), having moved between regions of the UK or even abroad less often and lived in South Wales longer. All were born in Wales, in fact all three who speak a language other than English or Welsh were born in their current area of residence (see Table 21). It has already been observed that those of non-white ethnic origin are not those who speak another language at home. Welsh-speakers are predominantly male, living in Neath Port Talbot or Bridgend. All the respondents in Blaenau Gwent speak English. Those who speak Welsh mostly

come from a Chapel/non-conformist family background (60%), while the remainder are Anglican (27%) and having no religion (13%).

Table 21
Mobility by family language

Mean\language	English	Welsh	Other
Age	44.63	51.92	59.71
% Born in Wales	89.01	93.33	100
# area moves	0.79	0.60	-
Years in S. Wales	41.20	50.20	59.67

Some of the differences between the language groups may be age-related effects. For example, while English speakers more commonly attended Comprehensive schools (43%), Welsh speakers attended Secondary Modern (40%) and Grammar schools (33%), and speakers of other languages attended elementary schools only. In terms of participation, the Welsh speakers leave FTCE later, while speakers of other languages leave at the end of compulsory schooling and have few chances to return to any formal learning (Table 22).

Table 22
Participation by family language

Mean\language	English	Welsh	Other
FTCE episodes	0.39	0.67	-
Age end FTCE	16.29	17.73	15.00
Work episodes	0.72	1.00	0.33
POCE episodes	0.51	0.73	1.00
Life episodes	1.45	2.07	1.33
Years in learning	2.27	4.98	1.89
% life learning	13.42	20.52	4.90

The different levels of qualification are as expected from the participation figures, Welsh-speakers generally coming out best and other language speakers worst at the end of full-time continuous education, and these

differences are currently being preserved over their lifetime. However, in this example, the picture for offspring is very different. The children of those speaking "other" languages are the most highly qualified of the three groups (Table 23), although Welsh speakers retain their advantage over the English speakers.

Table 23
Qualification by language

Rank\language	English	Welsh	Other
Qualification at end of FTCE	524	672	284
Lifetime qualification	542	735	220
Qualification of child	279	411	425

The picture for respondents qualification and participation in education also appears in their lifetime social class, with Welsh-speakers having more prestigious occupations, and other language speakers less. This pattern continues into the next generation, making the differences in qualifications for the children of the respondents above more remarkable. Those speaking another language could be a submerged middle-class in an "artificially" poor economic position after immigration, but as observed above, the respondents if they are recent immigrants are already second-generation.

Table 24
Class by language

	English	Welsh	Other
Modal class	519	348	733
Sibling class	411	267	719
Child class	201	133	244

Religion

There is no clear source of data with which to compare the respondents replies on religion since the question did not ask them about themselves as such but about the religion dominant in their family background. It is interesting, and perhaps rather depressing if valid, that all respondents could identify one dominant background and none claimed a mixed background (see Table 25). As expected, Anglican and Chapel backgrounds are common, while non-Christian religions are rare, and in these respects the findings are similar to a recent survey of parents in South Wales (Gorard 1997$_i$), although the previous focus area also included the more ethnically mixed region of South Glamorgan.

Table 25
Family religion of respondent

Family religion	Cases	%
None	124	11.3
C. of England/in Wales	567	51.6
Chapel/non-conformist	289	26.3
Catholic	93	8.5
Other Christian	21	1.9
Other local minority	5	0.5

The pattern of religion by place of birth is revealing (Table 26), with the Anglican and minority religion families more commonly from outside South Wales, while those from Chapel and no religious background are clearly from South Wales. More of the families with Chapel backgrounds (43%) and other Christian (48%) and more minority religion (75%) now live in Blaenau Gwent, while conversely those in Bridgend and Neath Port Talbot are more commonly Anglican, Catholic or have no religion, and these are the families

more likely to have a child now living away from South Wales (although it also true that they tend to have more children in total anyway). It is those with no religion who are clearly younger and therefore have fewer children (Table 27).

Table 26
Family religion by place of birth

Religion\born	Research site	S. Wales	UK	Elsewhere
None	79	15	5	2
Anglican	70	18	11	2
Chapel	77	18	3	1
Catholic	58	19	16	6
Christian	67	10	24	-
Minority	50	-	50	-

Table 27
Characteristics by Religion

	None	Anglican	Chapel	Catholic	Christian	Minority
Age	37.50	44.66	47.92	44.03	49.71	43.00
# of children	1.45	1.85	1.81	1.91	2.33	3.00
# of area moves	0.40	0.72	0.69	1.47	1.71	0.59
Years in S. Wales	34.41	41.05	46.24	37.67	40.05	24.75

A clear trend can be seen in Table 28. Over the 50 years concerning this study, most religious groups have remained relatively constant within a few percentage points, but respondents describing themselves as from a non-conformist/Chapel background have declined and been replaced in the main by those with no religion. This may have significance if the tradition of chapel and Sunday school was indeed part of the foundation for those components of

a true learning society previously described in South Wales after 1944 (see Gorard *et al.* 1997f).

Table 28
Age cohort by Religion

Religion	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
None	24	24	13	7	5
Anglican	50	40	58	50	50
Chapel	18	26	16	31	35
Catholic	8	8	10	9	6
Christian	-	-	2	2	3
Minority	-	-	1	1	-

Indeed there is some evidence that despite being older than average for the survey (in an era when qualifications are becoming more common) the families of chapel-goers generally participate more in all forms of education and are more highly qualified (Tables 29, 30). They more commonly report having a leisure interest requiring sustained practice or study (see forthcoming paper on leisure learning) and attending school regularly (93% compared to 85% of Anglicans and 77% of those with no religion). However, part of the reason for this may be their relatively elevated class profile (see Table 31). They are anyway similar in many of these respects to the Catholic families, and their performance and participation is much less impressive than that of the families with a non-Christian religion who are both more highly qualified and from a less elevated class background. In addition, for the next generation the picture on attendance reverses with more children of chapel-goers 'skipping' school. What is perhaps more surprising is relatively poor performance, overall and in terms of their background, of the Christian minority families.

Table 29
Participation by Religion

	None	Anglican	Chapel	Catholic	Christian	Minority
# of FTCE	0.47	0.33	0.43	0.54	0.14	0.75
Age after FTCE	16.68	16.11	16.36	16.74	15.51	18.88
# of Training	0.43	0.73	0.89	0.66	0.29	1.00
# of POCE	0.27	0.51	0.57	0.60	0.57	0.25
# of Lifetime	0.77	1.43	1.74	1.59	1.00	2.00
Years learning	1.94	2.07	2.74	2.76	1.77	3.21
% life learning	19.99	12.03	12.69	16.21	5.52	12.35

Table 30
Qualification by Religion

	None	Anglican	Chapel	Catholic	Christian	Minority
Qual. end FTCE	561	536	561	597	420	785
Lifetime qual.	541	530	583	588	425	734
Qual. of partner	320	351	378	397	245	164
Qual. of child	235	280	310	296	249	446

Table 31
Class by Religion

	None	Anglican	Chapel	Catholic	Christian	Minority
Class highest	627	524	477	509	562	473
Class modal	580	536	472	497	632	599
Occupat mother	253	287	269	292	450	436
Class sibling	506	413	389	396	500	227
Occupat partner	434	365	358	368	491	523
Class child	301	270	245	224	246	396

Summary

All of the foregoing has implications for the relationship between minority groups in the survey and the lifetime learning trajectories identified in Gorard *et al.* (1997a). While none of the indicators of the minority groups identified in this paper have been used in general models of the social and structural determinants of lifetime learning trajectories, this is not because they show no pattern but because the number of cases is so small that their effect-size is minimal compared to gender, age, area of residence and so on.

Those from Chapel/non-conformist backgrounds are less likely to be disaffected and more likely to be lifetime learners despite their age (see Table 32). The small number of minority sect Christians have the opposite learning characteristics despite being similar in many other respects. Is this an indication that those from non-conformist backgrounds more generally embrace learning of all types, while those of evangelicals are opposed to

education outside of their control? Also noteworthy is the prevalence of 'no religion' among the transitional learners, which may be an age effect. Recall that the trend in South Wales over the last 50 years is for Chapel backgrounds to be replaced by no religion (other religions staying constant), and for non-learners to be replaced in large measure by the front-loaded transitional learners. The Chapel families are mainly working-class, living in ex-mining areas, and speaking English. They are a different minority to the more middle-class Welsh language speakers living in Bridgend and Neath.

Table 32
Trajectory by Religion

Traj\relig	None	Anglican	Chapel	Catholic	Christian	Minority
NL	23	14	11	9	10	-
NNL	15	19	18	23	43	25
DT	6	9	13	8	5	-
DS	3	7	5	10	19	25
TL	1	1	1	-	-	-
FST	11	9	8	8	5	-
FSS	12	8	8	10	5	25
WBL	7	14	14	12	5	-
EL	15	15	21	20	10	25
SAS	1	1	-	-	-	-
SIE	6	3	2	2	-	-

[Key:

Disaffected	NL - non-learner
	NNL - near non-learner
Delayed	DT - delayed trainee
	DS - deferred student
	TL - twilight learner
Transitional	FST - false-start trainee
	FSS - false-start student
Lifetime	WBL - work-based learner
	EL - early learner
Immature	SAS - still at school
	SIE - still in full-time continuous education].

More mobile respondents are more likely to have participated in education or training, so there are proportionately more lifetime learners from outside the UK than inside and they have been seen to be more upwardly class mobile, while there are more disaffected learners still living in the area of their birth (see Table 33).

Table 33
Trajectory by Birthplace

Traj\birth	Site	South Wales	UK	Elsewhere
Non-learner	14	17	7	-
Near NL	21	14	15	18
D trainee	10	8	13	9
D student	7	6	8	9
Twilight	1	-	1	-
FS trainee	9	7	6	9
FS student	8	7	11	14
WB learner	11	17	13	9
Early learner	15	24	3	32
Still at school	8	-	1	-
Still in FTCE	4	1	2	-

Despite being less mobile, the Welsh speakers have relatively advantaged backgrounds leading to greater participation in adult learning (Table 34). They form the majority of the "twilight" learners studying after retirement perhaps for therapeutic reasons. Those speaking another language have few of these advantages but still seem to have children gaining comparable results..

Table 34
Trajectory by Language

Traj\language	English	Welsh	Other
Non-learner	14	13	-
Near non-learner	19	7	33
Delayed trainee	10	7	-
Deferred student	7	7	-
Twilight learner	-	7	33
False-start trainee	9	-	-
False-start student	9	7	-
Work learner	12	20	33
Early learner	17	27	-
Still at school	1	-	-
Still in FTCE	3	7	-

Several groups of minorities in South Wales have been identified in this paper. In terms of participation in adult education and training, all have a record at least matching that of the majority of respondents, including the non-whites, those born overseas, those speaking a language other than Welsh or English, and those with a non-Christian religion. The one exception is the minority consisting of "other" Christians such as Jehovah's Witnesses (of whom there are several). These may be the kind of respondents using the poorly-provided grass-roots schools of the type described by Gorard (1997$_i$), and described by Wales on Sunday (1996) as "the school that time forgot".

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